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ABSTRACT

Discussing the concept of peace education, specifically from a Swedish perspective, this paper offers a rationale for the inclusion of peace education in school curricula throughout the world. Organized into three sections, the first section presents a historical background to current peace education efforts, and focuses on developments since World War II, especially within Swedish schools. The second section seeks to define the content of peace education, and includes a discussion of the intellectual history of war, the arms industry, human rights, developing nations, psychological problems, security policy, and peace and the environment. The third section discusses how peace education is currently put into practice in Swedish schools. An appendix contains an excerpt from a paper on peace education and a 25-item list of references. (DB)

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PEACE EDUCATION

A tentative introduction
from a Swedish perspective

Bengt Thelin

The various peace movements which emerged during the Cold War and in response to the nuclear menace did not fail to leave their mark on schools as well. In many countries, demands were raised for intensified teaching about peace and its conditions, but those demands encountered resistance and triggered a good deal of debate, in Sweden as elsewhere. Peace education was branded as both naive and dangerous by some of its critics.

Although the East-West détente has silenced the debate, the need for deeper knowledge of the concepts of peace and human rights remains as great as ever. That knowledge is closely connected with questions concerning the global environment and to the threat which mankind now faces to its future and survival.

This booklet is an attempted presentation of the non-existing school subject "peace". But it is also an appeal for re-thinking, for greater awareness and for reinforced teaching on questions of destiny and survival, making "peace and the environment" the foundation and point of departure. Knowledge-feeling-action, human compassion and global ethics are among the basic concepts involved here.

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Keywords: Aims of education, environment, education, ethics, global approach, human rights, peace education, Sweden, Unesco, war.

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Preface

One looks in vain for "peace education" on Swedish school timetables, and the same goes for most other countries. Peace education as a subject in its own right simply does not exist. And yet peace education is now an established concept and has been adopted by many schools. In doing so it has provoked a debate, both in Sweden and elsewhere.

The present publication is an attempted introduction to this non-existent school subject. Its arrangement and some of its phraseology conform to the "service material" entitled "Peace Education: Peace - Liberty - Development - Human rights", published by the Swedish National Board of Education in 1986. (Swedish version in 1985 through Liber Utbildningsförlaget.) This is because the present author was also the compiler of the service material, but the pages which now follow are not to be thought of in any way as a revised edition of the NBE booklet.

A Swedish version of this publication originally appeared in the series "Försvar i Nutid" (No. 6, 1990), issued by Centralförbundet Folk och Försvar (the Central People and Defence Federation) and entitled "Fredsundervisning – ett försök till orientering". That is the text which has now been translated into English, with certain minor adjustments. Translator: Roger Tanner.

Stockholm, May 1991

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1. WHY PEACE EDUCATION

"Surely everybody wants peace, so what's the point of teaching about it?" "The only peace education we need is telling people that Sweden needs a strong defence!" "Peace education is dangerous – if there hadn't been so much teaching about peace in Britain during the thirties, the Second World War need never have happened."

These are three of the many reactions I have encountered during the years I have spent conducting and contemplating peace education. The first of them came from a senior British educationalist, the second from a retired Swedish general and the third from a philosophy lecturer at a Swedish university.

The three reactions reflect a good deal of the problems and notions that are bound up with peace education, and so we will have occasion to return to them now and again in the following pages, and especially in the present section on the whys and wherefores of peace education. First, though, a few words about peace education in an historical perspective.

Biblical examples

I do not yet know of any comprehensive account of the history of peace education, at all events in Swedish. If there were one, then it ought reasonably, and by way of introduction, to have something to say about attitudes to peace and war in the main religions of the world and the way in which those attitudes have influenced people's thoughts and actions in different civilisations and cultures. The result would be that peace as an idea and something sought after – and, accordingly, peace education in the broadest sense - is present in man's intellectual world as far back as we can trace it through the millennia in written sources. But it is equally clear that reality has been something different. The books of the Old Testament, as we all know, provide ample testimony on this point. In them we find epic and poetic writings on peace and reconciliation, texts which have been used in preaching and teaching through the centuries. For example, there is the territorial dispute between Abraham's and Lot's herdsmen and its settlement through the generous words of Abraham: "If thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left" (Gen. 13:9). A supremely relevant episode in the history of the country round about Jordan!

Another example is David sparing his persecutor Saul in the cave, in spite of having "his enemy in his hand" (I Samuel, 24). As a third example, we can take the prophet Isaiah's visions of swords being turned into ploughshares and spears into pruning knives (Isaiah 2:4) and of the bloodstained garments of the warrior being burned up (Isaiah 9:5).

But there are also brutal descriptions of vengeance and war, and stories of the ruthless treatment of vanquished enemies. One of many such examples is Israel's revenge on the Midianites, when the Israelites kill the kings of Midian and "all the males", carried off women and children into captivity and "burnt all their cities wherein they dwelt, and all their goodly castles, with fire" (Numbers 31:7, 10).

In the Old Testament, it was the prophets who stood for the opposition to violence and warfare. That opposition became still more articulate in the New Testament. In the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus rejects the traditional retaliatory principle - the *lex talionis* of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth". One must not resist an injury. Instead one must turn the other cheek (Matt. 5:38-39). When he is arrested in the Garden of Gethsemane, Jesus says to the disciple who draws a sword to defend him: "Put up again thy sword into his place; for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword" (Matt. 26:52). These are some of the passages which have always given the Christian Church trouble when, in its preaching and teaching, it has tried to explain and justify war and the use of force. Already in the Middle Ages, Thomas of Aquinus constructed the idea of a just war, an idea to which Martin Luther was also to subscribe. A war is just if waged on behalf of the prince/power of state in defence of what is right and lawful. The modern, secular variant of this view can be found in Article 51 of the UN Charter, concerning the right of self-defence.

Historical examples

A concise presentation of the history of peace education in the true sense could well begin with Johann Amos Comenius, 1592-1670, the great Czech theologian and educationalist, whose life was dogged and wrecked by war but who wrote and taught untiringly about peace and reconciliation. One can include a chapter about the Quakers and their non-violent teachings and way of life. One can describe how efforts were made, through teaching, to heal the wounds left by the American Civil War between 1861 and 1865. Attention should also be paid to the now forgotten commitment of Fredrika Bremer to peace and the imprint she left on Swedish teaching in this respect, especially in girls' schools. Indeed, the campaign waged by women

in the cause of peace would make an indispensible chapter of its own. For their campaign has had and still has an educational aspect, not least through the medium of practical action. Just think of Eglantyne Jebb in Britain, the founder of the Save the Children organisation. She was had up in court for pleading for aid to children in Germany and Austria, victims of the First World War. George Bernhard Shaw defended her. Asked by journalists how he could side with anybody advocating help to the enemy, he retorted: "We do not have enemies under seven".

International development studies

Our historical account would also have something to say about the attempts made, in Sweden and elsewhere, during the inter-war years to establish peace pedagogics. But above all, it would have to describe the period following the Second World War. Two things happened during that period. Firstly, a new concept, that of the developing country, and a "new" world, the Third World, forced themselves on our attention. The poverty and suffering of the Third World countries became a terrifying reality to us in our sitting rooms, through the medium of our newly acquired television sets. "Third World studies" eventually took their place, not altogether unopposed, on the school curriculum.

The second new thing to occur was the tension between the superpowers and the risk of a war involving nuclear weapons and other instruments of mass destruction. This culminated during the closing years of the seventies and the beginning of the eighties. Peace movements and bodies of opinion for peace came into being and acquired an unprecedented strength. In many countries this also led to demands for coherent and deeper instruction in schools about peace and its conditions.

This, however, has brought us right into "the thick of things" and so we can now turn to a more systematic description and analysis of peace education.

The concept of peace

Peace is a pregnant and many-faceted term which often leads to conflict. The same goes for peace education. Without a reasonable degree of consensus on the meaning of "peace", there is not much point in discussing peace education, nor is there much hope of answering the question as to whether peace education is necessary.

Peace and conflict research has long employed a definition which distinguishes between negative and positive peace. Negative peace denotes

the absence of open, armed violence between groups and countries. Positive peace is a more pretentious concept, also requiring the absence of "structural violence", i.e. economic, political and cultural oppression. Violence of this kind can occur without bloodshed. The history of Eastern Europe for the past forty years presents frightening examples of negative peace and structural violence. Not that one looks in vain for examples in Western Europe and other parts of the world as well. In the ultimate analysis, the death of 40,000 children daily from deficiency diseases and starvation and the fact of 15 million people being fugitives are consequences of structural violence, of the non-prevalence of true peace.

It is important to underline that this positive concept of peace forms the basis of the account which now follows. Peace-liberty-justice is quite a common combination and shows pretty clearly what it is all about.

International background

The end of the Second World War in 1945 was followed by the foundation of the United Nations organisation, the preamble of whose charter states that its members are determined to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind". Education was looked on as an important instrument in the promotion of peace. Education was to inculcate in the rising generation the knowledge and attitudes for consolidating reconciliation and peace among the peoples. The setting up of UNESCO was an expression of faith in the role of upbringing and education. UNESCO is the UN agency charged with developing international co-operation in the fields of education, science and culture, in order to promote general respect for law and justice and for the human rights and basic liberties which, under the Charter of the United Nations, apply to all the peoples of the world, regardless of race, sex, language and religion. The work of UNESCO rests on the conviction that, since war originates in people's minds, then this is where defence for peace must be established. This reflects the conviction that it is within man's power and capacity to achieve development and change for the better. Education and upbringing is one means to this end.

Sweden has played and continues to play an active part in the work of the United Nations and its various agencies, UNESCO among them. This also implies an obligation – if not legal, then certainly moral – to try to implement and realise the basic principles and agreements of various kinds which have evolved in the course of international co-operation.

UNESCO

The "Recommendation on education for international understanding", adopted in 1974, is vitally important where the work of UNESCO in this context is concerned. That recommendation says a great deal about the role of education in promoting co-operation and solidarity across national boundaries and in strengthening awareness of and commitment to basic rights and liberties. It is a thin booklet but rather heavy reading, and it can be fairly termed something of a Bible of peace education which, as such, ought to be bound between the same two covers as every copy of every school curriculum.

It refers, for example, to the indefensibility of resorting to war for purposes of expansion, aggression or occupation, and of using power and force for purposes of suppression. It says that everybody should understand and make it their responsibility to preserve peace, and that education must deal with different types of war and their causes and effects, with disarmament and with the reprehensibility of using science and technology for warlike purposes – to quote just a few examples.

The Recommendation was translated into Swedish in 1976 and has been circulated several times to all schools through the National Board of Education and the Swedish National Commission for UNESCO. And yet it remains practically unknown – sad testimony to the difficulty which central agencies can encounter in getting through to teachers with material and information.

In 1978 there took place a big UNESCO conference in Vienna at which Sweden was represented and which dealt specifically with the teaching of human rights. The 1980 UNESCO World Conference in Paris was devoted to disarmament education. The final report from that conference affirmed the vital importance of disarmament education as a component of peace education, stating that it must be education about disarmament and for disarmament. In other words, it was a matter of both knowledge and attitudes. The conference also supported a proposal by the then Secretary-General of the United Nations, Kurt Waldheim, that one-thousandth of military expenditure should be set aside for national and international efforts to promote disarmament, including information and teaching on the subject.

In 1982 the UN resolved to inaugurate a world disarmament campaign. For the first few years, that campaign, which is still in progress, was headed by a Swede, Jan Mårtenson, one of the deputy Secretaries-General of the UN.

"Public opinion", a key concept for the campaign, implies an appeal to the peoples of all countries to bring pressure to bear on their political leaders to make every effort to restrain the arms race and secure peace. The campaign has five target groups through which public opinion is to be aroused and propagated, viz parliamentarians, mass movements, news media, researchers and educators. This UN action implies further support and authority for work in schools and for education for disarmament and peace.

The UN International Peace Year in 1986 became another manifestation for opinion formation and peace education. The Swedish Government appointed a special Peace Year Delegation, which among other things addressed information material to non-governmental organisations and to schools. This included a series of five publications dealing with peace questions from various angles, with the aim of enhancing knowledge and involvement.

Another UN activity of importance for schools and teaching is the human rights information drive which began in 1988. This is based on the UN Office in Geneva, which is now headed by the above mentioned Jan Mårtenson. Where human rights are concerned, just as with its disarmament campaign, the UN works by publishing and distributing books and brochures, some of which are directly intended for use in schools.

The Council of Europe

Human rights have been a prime concern of the Council of Europe from its very inception. In 1978 its Committee of Ministers adopted a resolution (No. 41) on "teaching about human rights", and in 1985 it issued Recommendation No. 7 to member states "on the teaching of human rights in school". That recommendation states among other things that the study of human rights in school "must lead to an understanding of and a positive attitude towards the concepts of justice, equality, liberty, peace, dignity, rights and democracy".

The Swedish curricula

The curricula are the instruments whereby the Government exerts general and comprehensive control on school activities. The Goals and Guidelines in these curricula enshrine the fundamental ideas and principles underlying our school system and our educational ideology. The overriding objectives are then exemplified and implemented in the syllabi for the various subjects and groups of subjects.

The very first Compulsory School Curriculum, in 1962, underlined the importance of international oriented teaching, e.g. on questions concerning peace, human rights and international understanding, an approach which has been reinforced by succeeding curricula, the latest of which was published in 1980. The current Upper Secondary School Curriculum bears the same imprint. A number of examples are given below, to illustrate this point, and they are quoted from the service material for peace education published by the National Board of Education 1985, English version 1986, with certain modifications in the case of upper secondary schooling, due to the introduction of a new civics syllabus.

The 1980 Compulsory School Curriculum (Lgr 80)

This curriculum requires schools to give pupils an insight into questions of belief, major issues of personal relations and survival, and international affairs. They are also required "actively and deliberately to induce and encourage children and young persons to subscribe to the fundamental values of our democracy and to manifest those values through practical, everyday action". Personal qualities are to be developed which "are capable of sustaining and reinforcing the democratic principles of tolerance, partnership and equality of rights between human beings". One of the main tasks of schools is to "inspire respect for truth and justice, for human dignity, for the inviolability of human life and, accordingly, for the right to personal privacy". Pupils must be taught to realise that nobody should be subjected to oppression and that "it is the duty of each individual to try to alleviate the pain, suffering and degradation of other people". (p. 5 ff)

"Schools must lay the foundations of solidarity with under-privileged groups, both in Sweden and abroad" and they must also "establish a determination to seek peaceful solutions to conflicts".

Subject matter must be selected which will enable pupils to perceive "the international dependence of our society and, accordingly, the importance of international contacts and co-operation". Pupils must be trained to feel solidarity with other countries, peoples and cultures. The curriculum goes on to say that "schools must make active efforts to enable pupils to understand the problems of the developing countries and our dependence on such countries". (p. 6)

As regards conflicts and their resolution, the curriculum says that discussions on this subject "must constitute a natural element of many aspects of instruction in school. This applies not only when schools raise

questions of total defence and peace, law and justice or religion and ideology. It is relevant to all subjects, to class committee proceedings and in other contexts involving the discussion and processing of relations between human beings and the codes of rules which people join in creating".

The objectives for social subjects lay down, for example, that "in the course of teaching the pupils are to learn to look for the causes of antipathies and to deal with conflicts. Schools must help the pupils to understand how conflicts between individuals, between groups and between states have arisen in the past and can arise today, what the grounds for conflicts can be, how conflicts can be averted and how they can be resolved. Teaching must be aimed at strengthening respect for fundamental human rights and liberties. It must create a disposition to strive for peace and it must enhance understanding for the necessity of international solidarity. It must be conducive to understanding and respect for all peoples, their cultures, civilisations, values and ways of life".

"In social studies, consideration must be given to children's rights and human rights, as well as compliance with the same, both in Sweden and in other countries. Similarly, emphasis is put on relations with other people as an important element at all three levels, e.g. with reference to means of processing and averting conflicts in everyday life. At the senior level of compulsory school, further consideration is given to the processing and resolution of conflicts at individual, group and social levels."

"Under the heading Human activities – the chronological perspective, thematic historical studies are prescribed for senior level, including for example the struggle for liberty and democracy, questions of survival and efforts for peace."

"Under the heading Human activities – the social perspective, democracy is discussed at all levels and at senior levels studies are prescribed on the subject of 'Peace and defence: political tension and military resources in the world. International efforts for peace and co-operation. Swedish neutrality, total defence and security policy generally. The workings of society in times of crisis and war'."

The Upper Secondary School Curriculum (Lgy 70)

We can now turn to the Upper Secondary School Curriculum (Lgy 70), the Goals and Guidelines and General Instructions of which employ the same wide-ranging basic international approach as Lgr 80 and also focus unmistakeably on the future and a changing society. We read, for example,

that the individual is a member of both the national and the international community. "Human adjustment requires an opportunity during education of practice in living and acting together with others and preparation for active citizenship in the society of the future, which will demand a much greater measure of partnership and solidarity between individuals than at present". (p. 7)

Under the heading "Personal development and instruction" we read as follows: "The international approach inculcated in compulsory schooling is to be developed, strengthened and deepened, so that pupils will also be capable of contributing to international work and so that they will be capable of understanding the situation of other peoples and feeling solidarity with them. Continuing foreign language instruction is vital in this connection. Understanding of other peoples requires a knowledge of political conditions and also of social and economic functions. International contacts also demand understanding for the religious and cultural conditions of other peoples. A knowledge of different forms of behaviour and different cultural patterns is essential to the establishment and maintenance of international contacts. This international approach must be inculcated not only in social subjects but also, as far as possible, in all teaching subjects".

Another section, headed "The social development of the pupils", emphasises that in order for developments to be capable of "promoting and consolidating peace and liberty among the peoples and improving human living conditions", schools must "inspire their pupils with a greater understanding of human life and conditions in other, more remote societies and teach them to realise the importance of good international relations and international co-operation".

The conclusion is then drawn that school work ought on the whole to be "aimed at promoting the development of pupils into independent members of society with an interest in the world at large conducive to personal involvement and a sense of internationally shared responsibility".

Obviously, responsibility for catering for the international aspect in teaching is shared between all subjects. Civics, history and religious education, however, have their appointed places and opportunities in the syllabi in this connection, and so has foreign language teaching, which of course supplies the very instruments of transnational communication.

The section of the goal for civics teaching referring to "the prerequisites of international development and co-existence, causes of conflict and motive forces behind military armaments, efforts to resolve conflicts and achieve

co-operation between countries and peoples, the means and ends of Swedish security policy" is vitally important, and so too of course is the main teaching item "International relations". In the history syllabus, much the same applies to the four problem areas, as they are called, viz "Efforts to achieve an international order for peace, mainly through the UN", "De-colonialisation", "The North-South dialogue and the problems of the so-called Third World", and "Bids for co-operation in Europe".

In religious education it is above all the main teaching item "Ethical and moral questions" which is of interest. Here the commentary booklet provides relatively exhaustive exemplification on questions concerning war and peace, rich and poor countries, problems of pacifism, violence and non-violence, international law and peace research.

Reinforced teaching on peace and environment

As has now been made clear, the Swedish curricula both prescribe and amply support properly planned, consistently thought out international teaching with special emphasis on the conditions and prerequisites of peace in the broad sense. In recent years, growing opportunities for local interpretation and implementation of the curricula have made it easier still for head teachers and their staff to give school work this kind of emphasis.

In its budget requests for the 1989/90 fiscal year, the NBE presented an action programme for the internationalisation of education, calling for reinforced instruction on the major global issues concerning the future and survival which mankind is now facing, issues which can be summarised in terms of peace and the environment. It is only to be hoped that reinforcement of this kind will materialise in the curricular work which is now (February 1991) being announced by the Government.

Reality

"Surely everybody wants peace, so what's the point of teaching about it?" There is cause to return to this statement, quoted at the beginning of this chapter, as we turn to consider the justification which reality itself affords for peace education. Obviously, the fact of "everybody wanting peace" is not in itself sufficient guarantee of peace actually materialising. Knowledge, awareness and hard work are also needed, as well as a worldwide body of opinion, in order for mankind to come at least a little closer to the objective - a world of justice and peace - endorsed by the 159 member nations of the UN.

Positive changes

Now that the present century and millennium have entered their final decade, one can point to many positive changes which, only a year or so ago, would have seemed quite utopian. The paralysing fear of a nuclear war between the two big power blocs has released its hold, the Cold War is over. With one or two exceptions, the oppressive communist régimes of Eastern Europe have crumbled away. The old leaders have been deposed and succeeded by politicians and cultural personalities who, until quite recently, were kept behind bars or under rigid supervision as enemies of the régime. The process of disarmament has begun which no longer seems to be merely cosmetic, and the UN has acquired a prestige and influence unparalleled in its previous history. These are all revolutionary events which deserve to be called historic and which will transform the living conditions of hundreds of millions of people in many countries.

Clouds and question marks

But there are also many dark clouds on the horizon and many question marks about the future. The political changes occurring in Europe hitherto, however positive they may be, can also have negative consequences which, as yet, it is hard for us to predict. A growth of unemployment and economic misery can lead to unrest. National, ethnic and religious antipathies, until now restrained by the dictatorships, can flare up, producing conflicts and wars.

The forgotten Third World

One also has to bear in mind that it is in Europe, whether we refer to the political upheavals in the former communist dictatorships or to economic co-operation within the Common Market, that the changes have occurred and are still going on. In other words, what we have witnessed is a very European-centred train of political events. There have been unmistakeable tendencies to forget the Third World, where the burden of debt and misery is still increasing. The gulf in terms of material circumstances between them and us has not diminished; on the contrary, in some cases it has widened. In discussions concerning the EC, one hears no mention of solidarity with the poor. Instead it is the prosperity of the rich that counts. We denizens of the industrialised countries still have an average life expectancy more than thirty years longer than that of our fellow-beings in developing countries, we are still getting through about 380 litres of water per capita daily, while they have to make do with 20, and our average daily

energy consumption is still about 150 kWH, as against their 8 or so (figures from the SIDA brochure Globalogi).

The report of the UN World Commission for the Environment and Development (1987), expressively entitled "Our Common Future" (alias the Brundtland Report) quotes many eloquent examples of the weird and wonderful priorities and commitments of national governments. We will make do here with just one example, from chapter 11, Peace, security, development and environment: "A plan of action for the tropical forests would cost 1.3 billion (dollars) for five years. This annual total equals world military spending for half a day" (p. 329). Despite the disarmament process which has now got started in a quantitative sense, research and development are being continued with undiminished vigour to make weaponry systems more sophisticated and effective.

The autumn of 1990 brought a new threat to peace through the major political crisis precipitated by Iraq's occupation of Kuwait. Whatever the final outcome of the crisis and the subsequent war, this crisis, in all its complexity, presents features of a confrontation, deeply rooted in history, between civilisations and cultures, features which we in the western cultural sphere have been excessively disposed to put out of our minds and forget, features which are also clearly connected with the antithesis between rich and poor countries.

Global questions for the future

To the political storm clouds must be added those connected with the global environment. Indeed, fear of chaos and disaster resulting from a war fought with nuclear weapons and other instruments of mass destruction seems to have been partly superseded by fear of the potential consequences of ruthless, egoistic management of our resources and habitat. In many respects, though, threats to peace and threats to the environment belong together, a point to which we shall be returning in due course, and so there is no reason why the two should be rigidly segregated, for example, in the teaching context.

The question of the survival of the human race, of our global future, has become an increasingly frequent topic of debate in the natural sciences, humanities and social sciences alike, but it has also become a frequently recurring theme of literature, films, drama, pictorial art and music. It is perhaps an open question how the thinking man or woman reacts to the threat to the future which our generation has to conquer. There is probably a whole gamut of attitudes, some more clear-cut than others,

ranging from superficial optimism – "the boffins'll fix it" – to cynicism – "let's eat, drink and be merry while we can" – and, from there, to pessimism and apathy – "it's all going down the drain and we can't do a thing about it".

One day, if the future is long enough, perhaps historians will wonder at the apparent slightness of the impact on everyday human life of this unique and terrifying human dilemma. The natural reaction ought really to be for far more people to be worried about "our common future" than is apparently the case at present. Only then can vigorous countermeasures be applied with wide popular support, even if they are inconvenient and, in the superficial and short-term perspective, detract from our accustomed material prosperity.

The odd thing is that questions concerning our global future are hardly ever touched on by educational debaters, be they politicians, educational researchers or teachers. Probably a similar situation applies in other countries. The debate on schools is dominated by questions of funding, management and formal qualifications, with hardly a word being said about what is or should be the cognitive substance of teaching.

This is not only peculiar, it is deplorable, because we know from various surveys in recent years that questions concerning the world's future occupy the minds of many children and youngsters and that there is uneasiness about the future. What is more, one can also discern traces of disappointment over the adult world not caring about which way we are heading. Many youngsters feel abandoned, left in the lurch. Educational planners and textbook writers should also ponder the fact, as it seems, that it is not schools but the media which supply children and young adults with knowledge – often superficial and fragmentary – of the great contemporary problems relating to peace, human rights and the environment. For example, one major international survey revealed that what pupils knew about nuclear weapons they had learned, not at school, but from newspapers, radio and television.

Given this background, the retired general's assertion that "the only peace education we need is telling people that Sweden needs a strong defence" seems pretty one-sided, reflecting as it does a narrowly national mentality and a spurious notion of security as purely a military concern. Probably few of those youngsters today who are actively concerned about the future would derive reassurance from peace education on these lines only. This brings us to the question of What - that is, the content of peace education.

2. WHAT IS PEACE EDUCATION?

As we have already seen, peace education – or "peace" – is not a subject in its own right on the school timetable. Even though quite a few teachers have practised peace education more or less consistently, a description of peace education is bound to be somewhat artificial and sketchy, and something in the nature of a suggestion. In this section we will mainly be considering what ought to be the information content of peace education, regardless of how and where the subject matter is treated in existing school subjects. We will return to this latter point in the third section, in which we will attempt to answer the question of How. As will be clearly apparent, the two questions of What and How - content and method - are intertwined.

The intellectual history of war

Peace, within and between countries, is a basic prerequisite of a life of human dignity. History and our own time are full of war and of the sufferings and barbarity which come with it. If the British educationalist is right in believing that "everybody wants peace", then it is surprising how little attention has been devoted to peace in traditional education and how much to wars, not only in descriptive terms but admiringly as well. There used to be much glorification of war in education. There were plenty of martial heroes, and during the 19th century the glorification of war achieved an apogee as a ramification of militant nationalism. In her "Down with Arms", Bertha von Suttner quotes many tragic and comical examples of this stupid mentality. So does Erich Maria Remarque in his "All Quite on the Western Front".

In the Vietnam and Afghanistan wars, young men were urged on by national war propaganda, with promises of rewards and glory. It is now a well-known fact that the reality for those returning home proved to be something different. Most frightening of all in recent years, of course, is the glorification of war within Islam, with the war between Iran and Iraq and the accumulation of military power within Iraq under Saddam Hussein, taking place in the name of religion, and with death on the battlefield being portrayed as the height of felicity and fortune.

The glorification of war is also manifested by the high status accorded through the ages, and in most societies, to the warrior caste, the aristocracy. A legacy and reflection of this can be seen in the exclusive social standing of officers.

I have mentioned these things in order to hint at a subject matter of peace education which would probably be worth trying. Let us call it the "intellectual history of war" – unlike the history of war, which as I said we have had more than enough of. Obviously an overview of this kind will also have to include some sort of classification of different types of war, which means that it will also have to include the difficult question of the "just" war.

The intellectual history of peace

Another, parallel subject field could be "the intellectual history of peace" – that is, an overview of the ideas of peace and non-violence and their great exponents through the centuries, together with the practical manifestations achieved by the dream of peace in the form of international associations and institutions and more or less permanently organised, popularly based peace movements.

The arms industry

A third topic might concern the arms industry, weapons technology and the arms trade, together with the interests and constellations behind it all. Eisenhower, it will be recalled, minted the expression "the military-industrial complex", declaring that every weapon manufactured is really an act of theft against the hungry.

A closely related subject field, though with different points of departure, is arms control and disarmament, with related questions of arms destruction and the transfer of labour and other resources to civilian activities.

Human rights

Human rights, their ideological evolution and the way in which, during recent decades, they have been manifested through a comprehensive structure of rules within the UN and outside it, must have their appointed place in all peace education. This field can also be taken to include the origins, development and activities of the international humanitarian organisations, such as the Red Cross, Save the Children and Amnesty International. These positive forces against suffering and oppression should be given far more prominent and affirmative treatment than hitherto.

Third World questions

Questions concerning the Third World have their appointed place in all peace education. For a long time now they have been relatively well-

established in syllabi and textbooks and they were in fact the first subject material during the post-war period which helped to give schools an international focus, though not always without incurring suspicion and resistance. One point which must not be neglected is the causal connections, embarrassing to the "North side", existing between the poverty of the developing countries and our own affluence, the moral problem of their ever-growing burden of debt and the demands for a different way of thinking and acting presented to us in the affluent world by the existing, inequitable international order. Not that the economic and social injustice existing within the developing countries themselves should be overlooked as a result of unrealistic idealism. A similar one-sidedness occurs in information about and attitudes towards the developing countries when attention is made to focus exclusively on deprivation and misery, overlooking the joie-de-vivre, the dignity and the inherent strength which are also present there and which are a basic precondition of improvement.

The causes of conflicts and wars in our own time and in the past also need to be elucidated in basic, general terms, far more than is usually attempted in the traditional teaching of history and civics. If peace and conflict research, a university subject still in its infancy, were to be included in the education of teachers of social subjects, this kind of approach would become more common.

Psychological problems

The character of modern warfare, the effects of weapons of mass destruction, the increasing sophistication of weapons technology and the exposed position of the civilian population must all be a part of peace education. The same goes for our own reactions as spectators and audiences to occasional glimpses of the true face of war on our television screens and in war films. In the minds of many of us, probably, disgust and horror are occasionally mingled with fascination and excitement over violence. War becomes entertainment. And it is not at all uncommon for the sophisticated technology and the precision of weapons to arouse admiration, not to say delight, on the part of some people - another point worth pondering.

All the psychological problems implied by numbing and acclimatisation in response to war, environmental dangers and human suffering need to be included in teaching as part of the process of creating awareness. A book for schools published recently by Swedish Physicians Against Nuclear Weapons, entitled (in Swedish) "Facts and Thoughts on Nuclear Weapons", deals with this and other questions. A closely allied topic is the euphemistic

language applied to the bloody facts of war.

Security policy

Obviously, everything concerned with our democracy and our national liberty and independence is a part of peace education. Equally obviously, that education includes the various aspects of our security policy, such as our total defence system, our foreign and trade policies, Sweden's work within the United Nations and other international bodies, and our international development policy. Obviously, because all these things already occupy an important position in the teaching of both civics and history. As regards teaching about military defence, however, the above mentioned demand for normative instruction of the "Sweden must have a strong defence" variety would also present a problem because opinions are so divided concerning the way in which this kind of defence is to be organised and what commitments and priorities it should involve. The détente between East and West, moreover, has blurred what used to be a distinct image of the enemy. In schools, as in the rest of the community, demands for a strong defence may not find such a ready hearing now that the Cold War is over. Quite naturally, an expansion of the security concept to include more than the military aspect also means that closer attention should be paid to our civilian, economic and psychological preparedness. The same goes for non-military forms of resistance, which have attracted a fair degree of attention in recent years.

Objections

Having got this far in my exemplification of subject matter for peace education, I can hear strong objections from at least two quarters. I can hear teachers of social subjects saying that there is nothing new about all this, because they have been teaching about these questions for decades. To them I would reply that, even if most of what I have now said is already to be found in syllabi and textbooks, this subject matter now needs to be given more time and attention. It concerns the feasibility of a decent life in the future for ourselves and the rest of the world. Added to this quantitative aspect there is the qualitative aspect, which is more important still. This will be dealt with in the next section.

The second objection I can imagine coming from teachers at junior and intermediate levels. "This material is too difficult for the younger pupils, and why is nothing said about the quarrels and conflicts which are always breaking out in the classroom? Surely, that too should be a part of peace

education?" I would be the first to admit that both the present account and the NBE service material are mainly intended, as regards their information content, for the senior level of compulsory school and for upper secondary school. But even the more advanced material can be simplified, for example by bringing out the leading figures in the "intellectual history of peace" and by using the old-fashioned story-telling technique. The connection between classroom conflicts and peace education is another question to be dealt with in the next section.

Peace and the environment

As stated earlier, questions about peace and the environment are closely connected in the teaching context, although this apparently is overlooked in the proposals now coming thick and fast for a reinforcement of environment education, indeed for its elevation to subject status. This connection could provide material for a whole book in itself, but we will have to make do with a few short examples.

War has always been a first-rate destroyer of the environment. The scorched earth stratagem, so often employed in the history of war, is well-known. It means burning one's own territory so that the pursuing enemy will be unable to live off it. There are also many examples of the enemy's fields, towns and villages being laid waste, partly as a means of punishment and vengeance.

Similarly, we have the cutting off of water supply and the poisoning of watercourses. In the Netherlands on various occasions, extensive areas of land have been flooded to stem the advance of the enemy.

The destructive impact of war on the environment has been multiplied several times over by modern weaponry. The ruins of Germany's cities after the Second World War made an indelible impression on those who saw anything of them at first hand. The destruction of forests and fields in Vietnam is the most terrifying example hitherto of chemical warfare. The effects which will be produced by a nuclear war probably exceed our imaginative capacity, but the nuclear winter is a concept which, to my knowledge, is no longer gainsaid.

So far we have been talking about the environmental destruction resulting directly from war. But there are also indirect connections, and connections implying that a ruined environment can generate conflicts and wars. A people or a tribe forced, by drought or floods, for example, to leave their original territory and seek a livelihood elsewhere, can easily come into conflict with the people already living in the new territory.

Competition for grazing lands and fertile soil has been a classical cause of conflict ever since ancient times, and in view of the rapidity of world population growth it is unlikely to diminish in future.

Environmental refugees have become a frequent and serious problem in recent years, and one about which international law still has little to say. Many observers fear that the extensive damage to water, soil and air which has now become known and been acknowledged in large parts of the Soviet Union and other countries of the former communist empire will give rise to enormous migratory movements westwards. The results of the greenhouse effect will include a rise in sea levels, causing low-lying areas to be inundated and rendered uninhabitable. This will lead to immense refugee movements. The following statement by Sir Crispin Tickell, British Ambassador to the United Nations and a governmental expert on global warming, demands earnest reflection. "Even if only one per cent (a very low estimate) of a world population of six billion were affected by the effects of global warming, that would mean some sixty million environmental refugees. The world has never had to cope with such numbers of homeless and desperate people." (Smyth & Wheather, p. 16.)

Human rights, as we have already seen, are an important aspect of all peace education. The destruction of soil, air and water, due above all to short-sighted, exclusively technical and economic thinking, breaches elementary human rights declared by the United Nations, such as the universal right to water, food, health and a home. Human rights are a matter of trans-boundary co-operation, human compassion and international solidarity. Human rights are the cement of peace education and environmental studies.

3. PEACE EDUCATION IN PRACTICE

Knowledge, feeling, action

The factual content of both peace education and environment education is ultimately concerned with the feasibility of continuing life on earth. This calls for commitment and action.

Knowledge, feeling, action has become something of a watchword for peace education in Sweden, a watchword which can and should also be applied to environment education. We will begin this section by considering these three concepts a little more closely.

Knowledge

Obviously, peace education must build on and insist on knowledge. This, however, is a point requiring special emphasis, because some of the criticism occurring during the 1980s basically implied that peace education was only concerned with feelings and that it had been naive and unrealistic – more exactly, that it had not perceived the deadly menace implied by the Soviet Union and the fact of a strong military defence being our only possible salvation. Perhaps the criticism was not altogether unjustified, but at the same time it is clear that emotionally based "rumpus room teaching" on peace issues derives no support from the information distributed by the National Board of Education and has never done so.

The service material published by the NBE in 1985 stresses quite clearly the need for knowledge, and this is particularly true on the subject of defence and security policy, which is an outstandingly sensitive and difficult subject for all peace education in any country. In the service material we read that "correct, impartial treatment of the security policy laid down by the Riksdag and Government must be a natural component of peace education" (p. 14). On the subject of the total defence system, the booklet tells teachers how to get expert advice both on the military aspect and concerning various aspects of civil defence (p. 14).

The insistence of critics of peace education on "objective" knowledge and nothing else was itself not without an element of superficiality and bias. One thing it overlooked, and still does, was that the very selection of facts for teaching implies a value judgement, a "slant" if you like. This is a general truth applying to all teaching, not to mention the information supplied by the news media. The second point overlooked by the critics was that the subject matter of peace education deals with highly complex relationships concerning which there are seldom any simple answers and

solutions. Here, as in all the humanities and social sciences, one is concerned, not with verifiable facts of the kind usually treated in school subjects like mathematics, physics and chemistry, but to a great extent with values, judgements and opinions which demand, and also develop, the capacity for critical thinking.

In addition, as we began by observing, peace education, especially when interlinked with environmental studies, as is here advocated, is concerned, not with neutral or indifferent things but with international co-operation and responsibility, global compassion and, ultimately, questions affecting the future of mankind. Clearly, then, teaching which is cool and neutral, confined to the mere registration of facts, will not be adequate.

Feeling

Objectivity, desirable in itself, must not be taken to the absurd lengths of anxious objectivism. Fortunately, the curricula provides support for the claim that empathy and feeling are natural, legitimate ingredients of school work. Feeling must also be present in instruction about our own liberty and independence. But feeling and empathy must also be present when the global questions are dealt with. This, as the NBE service material emphasises, can be instanced by the following two excerpts from Lgy 70, which make it quite clear that the business of schools is not confined to the pure transmission of knowledge.

"Understanding, interest and willingness to become involved on other people's behalf are an indispensible helpmeet of knowledge in modern society" (p. 14). "School work, then, should be aimed at promoting the development of the pupils into independent members of society, with an interest in the world at large conducive to personal involvement and a sense of shared international responsibility" (p. 15).

In other words, there is no question of sterile, intellectualist teaching, and Swedish schools must try to produce, not passive onlookers but people who are active and committed.

Lgr 80 also stresses that "it is the responsibility of each individual to try to alleviate the pain, suffering and degradation of other people" (p. 15).

In this connection there is cause once again to draw attention to the risk of numbing and acclimatisation to the human suffering which news media convey to use every day from all over the world. Efforts to counteract such a process must be an important concern of schools, as is borne out by the above excerpts from the curricula.

Action: Three examples

The healthy and natural consequence of empathy, namely action, is now only a short step away. We have already spoken of the anxiety which many youngsters feel about the future and about the feeling of betrayal by the adult world which can be detected among them. Children and youngsters react vehemently to discrepancies between words and actions. By reproducing, more or less verbatim, a couple of pages from the NBE service material (p. 16 ff), we can now indicate three areas or examples in which concrete measures are possible and are now actually being taken.

1. The first example involves a school acquiring a sister-school in a developing country, an arrangement of which quite a lot of experience has now been gained. A sister-school project can have three components. Firstly, a study, preferably undertaken jointly by several teachers of different subjects, of the developing country concerned, with method and depth of study adapted to the age of the pupils.
   Secondly, correspondence with a school or class in the developing country chosen. In this way the Swedish pupils can acquire a more vivid, personal conception of the living conditions of their co-evals in a remote developing country. Perhaps too this can alleviate the one-sided image conveyed, mainly by news media, of the lives of children in developing countries being full of misery and misfortune and nothing else.
   Thirdly, direct assistance to the school or village concerned. This can be a simple matter like the occasional consignment of writing materials or clothing, but it can also involve sending money to help finance the planting of trees, the drilling of wells or the building of a new school or hospital, for example. Sums of money which we find small and insignificant can mean a very great deal in a developing country. There are plenty of good examples available on this point.

2. Our second example concerns closer co-operation between the school and organisations concerned with disseminating information and mobilising public opinion on international affairs, with special reference to direct measures of assistance to countries and peoples in need, either in the Third World or in the now open countries of Eastern Europe. There is quite clearly a great deal of interest, at both central and local levels, on the part of these organisations and within churches and other religious denominations – especially those with missionary activities – in establishing closer and wider contacts with schools. These organisations

have a great deal to offer schools, both indirectly through information material of different kinds and directly through their officials and members. They can provide knowledge about the basics of international humanitarian assistance, its conditions and the possibilities of achieving global solidarity and humanity. But they can also supply ideas, advice and practical assistance, for example when a school wants to start a small international development project of the kind mentioned above, which is often an exacting, exasperating business but at the same time can yield very practical, vivid knowledge of life in the developing countries.

Realisation of the existence of common interests and values has led, at central level, to direct co-operation and to the establishment of a permanent working party, SAMFI (the Co-ordination Group for Internationalisation), by the NBE and a number of other organisations, viz Amnesty International, the Alva and Gunnar Myrdal Foundation, the Swedish Save the Children, the Red Cross, the United Nations Association of Sweden, SIDA (the Swedish International Development Authority), the Swedish UNICEF Committee and the Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society. Concrete results of this co-operation, which it is to be hoped will continue even after the National Board of Education has been reconstituted as the National Education Board, have hitherto included conferences for teacher educators and an annual list of material relating to school instruction on peace, the environment and human rights, the latest edition of which also includes a catalogue of in-service days.

3. The third example of practically oriented activities, presented by the NBE in the 1985 service material, is now really past history. In the service material (p. 17 f), one of the aims of peace education was said to be that of "fashioning open, outgoing individuals able, without preconceived emotions, to meet and communicate with other people, including those living in countries with political and economic systems quite different from our own". The author continued: "In the states of Eastern Europe there exist the same concern and fear as in the West and the same realisation of the gravity of the prevailing situation, even though this realisation cannot be as freely and openly expressed as in the western countries. Young people there are also very interested in establishing links with European European countries even outside the Warsaw bloc".

The "action" advocated here was for Swedish senior level compulsory

schools and upper secondary schools to try and find "contact schools" in the countries behind the Iron Curtain and to establish correspondence and – in spite of all the various impediments – a certain amount of student exchange as well. Activities of this kind had of course existed for a long time with countries and schools in the West. Perhaps indeed Sweden could become a meeting point for school students from both East and West. In this way, in the midst of the Cold War, small bridges for peace could be built between young people in the East and West. One possible channel would be UNESCO, partly with the aid of the Associated Schools Project (ASPRO). But other potential channels for this kind of contact work were also indicated, such as churches and international young organisations.

The idea, of course, was that in this way, with young people's help, small cracks could be made in the wall. Some newspapers, as expected, dismissed the whole thing as naive and dangerous. A number of contacts of this kind actually materialised. Some of the pioneers, before the NBE even broached the idea, were in fact youngsters and teachers in the Municipality of Mark in Västergötland. Since the Palme Fund came into being, several schools have received small grants towards contacts and student exchanges. The end of the Cold War, of course, has completely transformed the situation. Swedish youngsters are greatly interested in the former Eastern European states, but instead of contributing to political détente, the concern now is with environmental co-operation and purely humanitarian projects under school auspices. Some schools have put a great deal of effort into sending clothing and food to a particular locality in an Eastern European country. For example, an entire senior level class from a compulsory school in Forshaga, Värmland, travelled to a village in Poland and delivered the goods personally. "That week taught us more than a whole school year at home," was quite a common verdict from the pupils afterwards.

Breaking down subject boundaries

For decades now, Swedish schools have been aiming to break down the barriers between traditional school subjects and to make their teaching more thematic and project-based. It would be wrong to say that we have made much headway in this. The inertia seems to be greatest in upper secondary school. If anything, however, the global issues and threats confronting mankind today ought to provide a suitable opportunity for moving away from the fragmentation of reality into school subjects which

we have been labouring under for centuries past, and substituting a teaching which relates to problems and needs. This, however, calls for an openness and a degree of partnership between subjects and teachers, and perhaps even studies, which neither school organisation nor teacher education have been designed for. Where basic teacher education is concerned, a great deal was said and written prior to the latest reform about the importance of an interdisciplinary study of the global survival questions of peace and the environment actually materialising. It is doubtful whether anything real has come of this as yet.

Pending more radical approaches, however, it should be possible to achieve quite a lot with the present structure of school subjects and the present scheme of teacher education. The following are a few hints in this direction, based partly on the subject matter mentioned in the previous section.

Clearly, a study of "the intellectual history of peace and war" must be capable of engaging teachers of history, civics, religious education, philosophy and psychology, but also teachers of Swedish and modern languages - the latter because certain texts would be highly suitable, at least in part, for study in the original language. Another relevant topic could be "Children's rights" or "Children in the world". Here the Children's Convention recently adopted by the UN could be a point of departure. Certain parts of it could be studied in English, German or French and analysed in collaboration with the civics teacher. The history teacher could help with a thematic project on children's conditions and attitudes to children and youth through the ages and in different cultures, the Swedish teacher with examples from literature. This is a question which is both relevant and frightening. Just think of children in war - in Lebanon, Iran and Iraq - and children in the slum districts of big cities, street children and children forced into theft, violence and prostitution to survive. Needless to say, subjects like home economics and social studies could also make important contributions here.

Euphemisms

Mention has already been made of euphemisms as an interesting field for study. This type of language is used to make the brutal reality of war less frightening, sometimes in an almost jocular, idyllic vein. There are many such examples, ranging from the nicknames, Little Boy and Fat Man, respectively for the bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki to talk of "a tough situation" when troops in battle suffer heavy casualties in killed

and wounded. Here teachers of Swedish, modern languages and civics have a chance of fruitful co-operation on what is frequently known today as "nukespeak".

Instead of getting the pupils to write imaginary letters, moreover, the language teachers can assist with correspondence between pupils in the school/class and pupils in a twinned or sister school. Letters to political prisoners are an important Amnesty working method whereby interested language teachers and upper secondary school students can make a worthwhile contribution, getting language practice into the bargain. Civics can provide a general briefing on the political situation in the country concerned.

Modern weaponry, its cost and effects, should be capable of providing a joint project for civics, physics, chemistry and biology. The same may be true of problems of an economic and practical-technical nature, such as that presented by the scrapping of weapons, both conventional and non-conventional. Demographic developments and various indicators of living standards and living conditions all over the world provide an abundance of statistical material which should be capable of leading to co-operation between mathematics and civics.

Positive events in history

It is of course important to choose not only topics and material referring to war and disaster, suffering and misery. The preoccupation of news media with negative, gloomy events is prompted by that kind of material having the best news value. Schools do not have to be that superficial in their approach. One of the tasks of peace education must be to make peace just as "exciting" as war, to dig out positive, as well as negative, events in history and the present, to analyse the reasons why this or that conflict was successfully resolved without violence. The peace-keeping work of the UN and the efforts made by its various agencies to secure justice and human rights provide a useful foundation for a more hope-inspiring approach of this kind. The same goes for global environmental issues, since, despite the inertia, the world's leading politicians do seem to be moving towards greater awareness and responsibility. A closely related, encouraging theme should also be the increasingly important part played in recent years by the environmentalist, peace and civil rights movements in arousing public opinion and putting pressure on the political and economic establishment.

The role of personality in history

As suggested earlier, another way of counteracting pessimism is by giving more scope to the leading figures who have worked, and are still doing so, for human compassion, justice and peace. Examples from our own time can include the Brazilian Archbishop Dom Helder Camara, Mother Teresa in India, Nelson Mandela in South Africa and Vaclav Havel in Czechoslovakia. What used to be a rather patronising view of "the role of personality in history" seems in fact to have begun to lose ground recently to a realisation of the important influence – for good or ill – which people with powers of initiative and capacity for action can exert on our destinies. Growing numbers are probably coming to realise that youngsters, even when they have got as far as upper secondary school, need other role examples than yuppies and Rambo.

Several more examples of interdisciplinary, thematic studies could be quoted, but these will suffice for the moment. If only teachers and pupils have the necessary interest and commitment, there are many benefits to be derived from this working approach. Several teachers have also confirmed that a great deal of time can be saved this way, once the planning stage has been completed.

To avoid misunderstandings, we should add that subject matter of the kind now mentioned as an example of peace education can also be treated, of course, within existing subject frames. The advantage of the procedure advocated here lies in the additional weight and breadth which can be achieved as a result of several subjects and teachers collaborating on one topic.

Peace and environment education

In connection with what has now been said concerning an interdisciplinary, problem-oriented way of organising teaching, something more should be said concerning the relationship between peace education and environment studies. One natural consequence of the connection already demonstrated between subject matter and problems must be close co-operation between the natural sciences and social sciences in school. It would be a pity for environmental studies to be restricted to the natural sciences and to empirical, quantifiable data. The impact of the management of the environment and energy on the whole of man's living situation, both locally and globally, also needs to be illuminated. Environment studies, thus viewed, are also a major concern in social subjects. In this way they include, among other things, questions of an ethical nature at both

individual and societal level and, accordingly, questions of solidarity and responsibility. The factual content of both "peace" and "environment" is distinguished by its existential character, in the sense that it is ultimately concerned with the feasibility of human survival on our planet. More than thirty years have now passed since C.P. Snow published his lecture The Two Cultures. Perhaps the fatal issues concerning peace and the environment can form the bridge linking those two cultures together.

Peace education and the micro level

It is now time to consider the presumptive objection, mentioned earlier, to our argument so far, as regards conflicts in the local environment, in the classroom and in school (see above, p. 24-25). This is clearly the level with which many people associate the words "peace education" and, still more so, "peace training". And of course, discussion and analysis of conflicts and causes of conflict between individuals and groups are all part of the business of schools, as is practice in the resolution of conflicts. This, indeed, is made clear by the passages we have already quoted from the curricula. Most compulsory school teachers probably deal with questions of this kind occasionally, in any case. There should be no lack of opportunity for so doing. But even if they can be included in a concept of peace education, it would be wrong to equate elements of this kind with peace education, especially if the latter were thus to be restricted entirely to the micro level.

Warning against simple causal relations

One notion which could be glimpsed from time to time during discussions in the mid-1980s was that of a connection between bickering and disruptive behaviour in the classroom and in school on the one hand and conflicts and wars in the world at large on the other. Perhaps it was also tempting to lapse into moralising sentences like: "How do you expect anything but war in the world when not even you yourselves can see eye to eye together?" This is a naive way of putting the blame on the children, but on the detractors' part it is also a malicious travesty of the intentions of peace education. It is hard to say how common either of these sentiments was or is. At all events, the NBE saw fit, in its service material, to "warn against belief in any straighforward causal connections between, on the one hand, antitheses and conflicts in the immediate environment – in the home, class or school – and, on the other hand, conflicts and wars between states and national groups. Peace at international level is not created by urging

children to refrain from quarrelling and fighting" (p. 15).

The same section also included the following quasi-truism: "It is also important in this connection to make it clear that conflicts between individuals and groups are frequently complicated, just like international conflicts. The thing is to realise that, as a rule, there are no easy solutions, least of all on the conditions dictated just by one side. Violence frequently leads to greater violence and mounting tragedies." (p. 15)

Anxiety-generating questions

In the course of earlier debate and criticism, which have died down more recently, it was sometimes alleged that peace education could worry and frighten the pupils. The NBE view in the service material on this point still holds good. "The first thing to be said here is that judgement and caution are, of course, highly important, especially in the junior grades, when dealing with these questions. Children need to feel secure. At the same time one has to bear in mind that children are exposed to many frightening, anxiety-inducing impressions and information, whether questions of war and disaster are broached in school or not. Children spend a lot of time watching television. Many of them do so indiscriminately and alone. It is if anything the duty of schools to help children to process and come to terms with the anxiety which we know many of them experience, and to be able to answer their questions. This in turn calls for teachers who themselves have acquired knowledge and training and have learned to cope with the concern and the feeling of helplessness which, quite naturally, come over most people who occasionally put immediate everyday concerns to one side and pause for a while to consider the great questions of human destiny." (p. 15 f)

Peace education – a special subject on the timetable?

Every now and again it is proposed that teaching about peace, justice and human rights should have its own place on the timetable, should be a school subject in its own right with its own time allocation. This is no easy question to settle. One important argument in favour of a special subject is that the questions concerned would then receive more attention instead of falling between two stools. Against this one can plead the many-sided, versatile nature of the subject matter and the fact, to which we have already referred, of these questions being existential in the true sense of the word, i.e. concerned with the existence and survival of mankind. These matters concern everybody and should not be neutralised by relegation to special

periods and experts.

Obviously this means heavy demands on planning and on the teachers' determination. Probably more explicit formulations are needed in the curriculum on this point, but there is also a need for more support to facilitate in-service training, in terms of both subject content and method. Similarly, as those with experience will testify, one of the teachers, preferably collaborating with a director of studies, needs to be made specially responsible for co-ordination in school, in order to ensure that "peace questions" in the broad sense advocated here are actually taken into account. This is also necessary in view of the active emphasis and the practical solidarity and compassion which should be a part of genuine peace education. We are concerned here with organisational measures which cannot look after themselves. Perhaps it will be found natural for this co-ordinating responsibility to be vested in the civics teacher, but it should also be possible for other teachers having a special interest and aptitude to be entrusted with the task, but in that case of course not as a voluntary, idealistic undertaking but as part of their teaching duties.

What has now been said does not preclude the possibility, at all events in upper secondary school but also perhaps at the senior level of compulsory school, of deeper studies and specialisation for those pupils who are interested. The in-depth studies should include both theoretical and practical aspects and should help to qualify the students both for subsequent education and for vocational activity.

If, as we have already several times recommended in these pages, subject matter relating to peace and the environment could be united in the teaching context, then the question of a separate subject on the timetable would come to be viewed in a different light. There would then be more than sufficient foundation for a wide-ranging subject with its own time allocation but with several teachers jointly involved.

Peace education instead of "peace training"

In the matter of names, we can make use of the term "peace education" pending a reform. It is better than "peace training" (fredsfostran), the term used at the beginning of the 1980s in Sweden but eventually disapproved of by the NBE, since it gives the impression of a somewhat authoritarian "indoctrination", which is hardly in keeping with its intentions. Nor does the term really do justice to the cognitive element, and indeed is probably the cause of some of the misunderstandings, genuine or malicious, which have occasionally been expressed on the subject of peace education.

Concluding remarks

Nothing has yet been said concerning the third sentiment which we began by quoting, that of a university lecturer in philosophy who looked on peace education as positively dangerous. "Peace education is dangerous – if there hadn't been so much teaching about peace in Britain during the thirties, the Second World War need never have happened." One natural rebuttal of this argument is that the war need not have broken out either if there had not been so little peace education and so much war training in Hitler's Germany. For one of the main tasks of peace education must be to help create a critical, mature body of opinion and a well-informed citizenry, capable of resisting inflammatory national propaganda and facile black-and-white thinking.

In a tense situation between two parties, the advocates of peace education – on both sides – with their appeals for talks and reconciliation instead of violence, can easily become targets of ridicule, contempt and accusations of naiveté or indeed of treachery from the own group, party etc. A neutral party, on the contrary, would arrive at a different assessment. Who, for example, can fail to sympathise with the Neve Shalom movement, which aspires to educate Israeli and Palestinian children together so as to inculcate peace and reconciliation? Who can have any objection to similar activities for Catholic and Protestant children in the schools of Northern Ireland?

The demand for intensified peace education and for a union with instruction with the big environmental issues is prompted by the fact of mankind today being confronted by a situation quite unique in its history. It is unique because of our capacity for exterminating ourselves with weapons of mass destruction and by polluting the environment. This makes it imperative for the whole of the educational establishment to radically revise its thinking as regards both the content and organisation of schooling.

Time is short, however, and the adults of today will not be able in the future, if there is a future, to reply in the words of parents in post-war Germany when their children, after learning about concentration camps and the extermination of the Jews, asked them why they had not done anything to stop it all: "We didn't know anything about it". We, on the other hand, have sufficient facts at our disposal. What is lacking, due partly to suppression and fear, is insight and clear thinking and with them a capacity for drawing the correct conclusions from the predicament of mankind on the threshold of the third millennium. What is now needed, quite simply, is a pedagogics for global survival, on the basis of "peace and the environment".

Appendix
(From the service material "Peace Education: Peace – Liberty – Development – Human Rights", published by the Swedish National Board of Education, 1986)

Attitudes to knowledge and humanity

As has already been emphasised, the acquisition of knowledge must be the fundamental element of all peace education. Knowledge, however, cannot be acquired without study and work. But there is also the question of knowledge being put to constructive, meaningful use. The task here is to acquire and apply an active view of knowledge.

The same goes for the view taken of humanity. This must be borne up by belief in the possibility of influencing and changing people's thoughts and actions in a positive direction. Peace education must be based on the conviction that something can be done about the barbarity of war, the suffering caused by poverty and the cruelty of oppression. History has shown that it is possible – although with infinite slowness – to transform the thinking and living habits of civilisations, generations and states and to venture into new paths. Slavery was abolished, child employment was stopped[1], the centuries-old enmity between countries like France and Germany was overcome. In Sweden today, it is difficult to understand that, eighty years ago, people who opposed mobilisation and armament for a war against Norway were branded as traitors by some of their fellow-Swedes. The potential impact of a powerful body of popular opinion on political decision-makers was also shown by the Action Group Against a Swedish Atom Bomb (AMSA) at the end of the 1950s. The work of this group was instrumental in preventing the idea of Swedish atomic weapons coming to fruition.

There are, then, grounds for believing in the maturity of the human race and in the victory of humanity and compassion, no matter how remote these prospects may seem. These things, however, will not come automatically. They require involvement, responsibility and work, and in all these respects, schools and education have an important task to perform.

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1) At the time when this was written, we knew little of the cynical exploitation of children in certain developing countries.

Summing up:

- The aim of peace education in schools must be to increase pupils' knowledge and awareness of the great survival problems in the world, of war and peace and of man's responsibilities and opportunities for constructing a safer world.

- Our curricula both prescribe and sanction, and the world situation underlines the importance of, greater efforts in the context of peace education.

- In substance, peace education should accommodate a wide spectrum encompassing peace, liberty, development and human rights.

- The distinguishing characteristics of this instruction should be knowledge, feeling and action.

- As regards both its content and its distinguishing features, peace education must be consistently adapted to different levels and ages, the educational/psychological research, practical teaching experience and common sense must be combined in order to arrive at good solutions.

- Peace education ought not to be a school subject in its own right but should be based on co-operation between teachers across traditional subject boundaries. This calls for a systematic approach and joint planning in which social and scientific subjects, and Swedish, modern languages and arts subjects are prepared to contribute.

- A great deal will be gained if project studies can be interwoven with some form of practical international and humanitarian action constituting a permanent feature of school work.

- Peace education organised in the manner which has now been outlined can prove to be something more than the sum total of the parts of the different syllabi. It can acquire an existential character, become something of a way of life characterising school and permeate the everyday life of schools in a manner both self-evident and natural.

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